*539 /339 cont./

Boraró and Boraró Numió sometimes have human form and at other times have spirit form. Very often they are seen eating crabs, for they like to eat crabs very much.

*539 774 787 Boraró and Boraró Numió also steal people's souls without eating them. Sometimes a man dreams about a very pretty woman, and afterwards, when he goes out to the forest, he meets her and has sex with her. When he returns to the maloca (1),

1. Name given in this region to the typical Tukano /Tucano/ house.

he lies down to sleep and there he dies. Boraró Numió is the pretty woman about whom he dreamed and with whom he had sex, and it is she who steals his soul. The Tukano /Tucano/ woman dreams about Boraró, has sex with him in the forest, and then it is Boraró who steals her soul.

*539 II. Pijsubariyái.

Four spirits stayed in Dejkepaiwí. And each one of these spirits is named Pijsubariyái. These spirits, who are /340/ like devils, shout the name of a person. And the person, since he does not know who is calling, answers. But Pijsubariyái, unless he is given indications with a finger, does not know where the person is. Therefore, when one answers the first time that he is called and he still continues to be called, he knows it must be Pijsubariyái. In case that someone points him out to Pijsubariyái, instantly Pijsubariyái reaches him and eats him in the same way that a jaguar /Sp. tigre/ eats people. Pijsubariyái has two heads, one where the head is normally and the other on the backside, instead of a tail. Pijsubariyái has the form of a jaguar.

III. Emiarouajtí.

Two spirits named Emiarouajtí stayed in Diakajseropoeawí. They both had the same name and were a male and a female. They were brother and sister. No Uajtí (2) dies, and so the

2. Spirit.

/270 cont./

755 his medical kit, where there are small calabashes containing
*[192] powders, and also thorns, pieces of bone and of cylindrical sticks, small pebbles, polished stones of crystal for the vision, and, especially, the painted maracá (Yaxsã-ga), considered a magic instrument, and the cigar (Baxséke mõrõ-rõ, Uaupés mõ nõ-nõ).

He smokes it and disperses the smoke over the body, or the sore part of the body, with the force to drive away the dohasé and to effect the cure. By means of the smoke he is
• [787] able to forecast the patient's death; and the direction /271/ that it takes or the figure that it describes in the air will indicate who caused that malefice.

756 When the pajé blows into the closed left hand and, opening it afterwards, releases the smoke in a given direction, or with a wide and slow gesture of the right hand drives the smoke from the left axilla toward a certain direction, he is sending toward there sicknesses and misfortunes. The simple blowing, slowly closing the left hand, will drive away the clouds, making the rain stop. If, instead, he opens the fingers, he will send winds, storms, lightning flashes. The lightning flashes always originate with some pajé. (Cf. Ermano Stradelli, o. c., entry Payé.)

*[192] There is a deeply rooted belief in the mysterious force of the "sõpro" /blowing/, "Baxsesé," of the pajé, because the blowing comes from deep inside the person, from his Héripõra /heart, liver/ (19).

[829] 19. They also admit this mysterious force in the sõpro of the whites, especially if one is a doctor (whom they judge to be a pajé). We know that Koch Grünberg himself (Z. I. 101) practiced the blowings among the natives.

It clearly cannot be said that the Indians admit a natural magnetic force in the pajé. They regard him, then, as the possessor of an extraordinary spiritual virtue.

776 /362 cont./
539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
823 there"..., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the hammock were sucuruju /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
• 787 the Mission of Taracuá dreamed at night that she had amorous relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throwing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/; e)/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grand-
[115] mother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle
[222] eggs on a beach near Pinú-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
[192] maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that the waĩ maxsã had stolen her daughter: "waĩ maxsã mĩsa-wapã yõõ maxkõ-ré, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places, they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and whining child.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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11

Religion

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekūpuānua* and *Kūwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of relations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one neither commands nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship with a supernatural being.

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikū* they come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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771 769 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwänwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under 771 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the 769 Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have set requirements – is ● 787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no importance. Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the 771 supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious conse- 769 quences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwänwa* do 784 not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwänwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 769 [776] The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit is *dekóhû* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the term *Bekûpwänwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwänwa* that the Cubeo do [778] not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The Ancients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapuri and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the resi- [775] dences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo. [192] [193]

778 756 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known as *pariékokũ* (man of power) or as *yavi* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokũ* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yavi* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yavi* is a *pariékokũ* but not every *pariékokũ* is a *yavi*. The *yavi* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokũ* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokũ*, but *yavis* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yavi* and the *pariékokũ*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékokũ*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power." [554]

The power of the shaman is called *parùkũ*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parùkũ*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. 778 The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleasantly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her. 756 821 823 789 778 756 787 825

756 778 Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the shamans wage against one another. A *yavi*, I was told, has a different

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6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

796 534 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 574 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana. Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 273 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 [787] In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they consulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torchwood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

302 796 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

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A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.

[see p. 78-A]

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet. 796 [302]

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder. 796 789

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals. 796

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo [756] [276] [787]

Tukano profile and festival head-dress. [see p. 78-B]